177 when, also after 1870, Yokuts performers came to Mono villages to present the aberrant spectacles for entertainment. Before 1870, but probably not before 1850, a diffusion of some aspects of the above-mentioned Yokuts ceremonies may have been started by Western Mono individuals, shamans particularly, who, only as individuals, acquired for their own repertoires certain functions such as the handling of rattlesnakes, the taking or administering of jimsonweed, or the exhibition of power by making and propelling airshot.

171 613 619 621 177 More fundamental and undoubtedly predating the Yokuts-Mono junction unwittingly effected by the whites, is the social organization common to both cultures. This includes (1) the basic patrilineal lineages (with their totemic animal symbols) which lived either in tiny hamlets or larger villages depending on locale, under a chief and his henchman whose offices were determined primarily by inheritance, secondarily by popular choice; and (2) the further grouping of these communities into a self-conscious "tribe" having a name (Wobonuch, Waksachi, etc.) and dialectic distinctions.[2] With these named, dialectically distinct social groups or tribes is linked the concept of a "home spot" which is a Miwok feature also, as is the moiety concept shared by some but not all Yokuts and Western Mono. In other words, the historical relation of Yokuts and Western Mono social characteristics is embedded in the larger history of social organization in the entire southern half of California.[3]

171 613 177 Stemming from the totemic lineage is the practice of redeeming the totem animal by purchase and the totem-function bond--Eagle or Cougar as chief, Dove or Roadrunner as messenger, Bear dancing and Coyote clowning, features shared by Western Mono and Yokuts.

171 778 177 Another basic similarity between the upland Monachi culture and that of their valley neighbors lies in the realm of supernatural beliefs and powers. The attitudes toward supernatural power, the method of obtaining it, and the uses to which it was put are identical. However, the Western Mono shamans did not go in for specialization as did the Yokuts, with their individual powers for controlling weather, rattlesnakes, and water creatures.

177 439 On the side of material culture a more even exchange has taken place since trade relations have always, apparently, been maintained for mutual benefit, with Western Mono serving as middlemen when the Eastern Mono (Owens Valley Paiute) did not want to risk entry into Yokuts territory. However, a few items are

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[2] Now summarized in Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization.

[3] See Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, 114-122; cf. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, 50-57, and fig. 7 showing Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono) band areas.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The primary reciprocity at Chunut and other valley tribes' mourning ceremonies was between tribes, secondarily between moieties. 616 The tribal reciprocity was like that of the foothills, and the tribes functioning in this 619 relationship likewise were called gi''i. J.A. remembers two large celebrations, one a Telamni ceremony where the Wowol were the gi'i, and another in Drum Valley where the Wukchumni served as gi'i to the Waksachi. On this last occasion moieties were not involved as neither tribe was moietized.

Once understood, the double reciprocity of tribe and moiety is very simple: opposite moieties of the opposed tribes washed each other, thus theoretically, Tokelyuwich of Tribe 1 washed Nutuwich of Tribe 2, Nutuwich of Tribe 1 washed Tokelyuwich of Tribe 2. Details are given in place in the following account of the week's ceremonial.

A little ceremony, "the private mourning ceremony," was held in the third moon following a death. The relatives of the deceased sent some money to the chief of the opposite moiety. At the end of six days the chief had much meat and mush cooked up. He appointed someone to wash the male mourners, and the food was consumed after the washing was done. This was called witi lonuwas (little ceremony), or one said of it teya'o wa'ha'l tsume'lnut (first cry going to wash).

769 When the time approached for the "big," or annual, mourning ceremony, a preliminary ceremony called kiyu'was was held for the purpose of making plans.[106] A Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich chief assembled the people of each moiety. They all gathered and danced, and each moiety paid the other for this entertainment. The chiefs "each had a family to do the washing."

The Tachi, M.G., said that all the chiefs of a village had to unanimously favor a mourning ceremony before one could be given. There were no secondary chiefs (tuye''i) here, as there were in the foothill tribes.

Although "money passed between chiefs" at mourning ceremonies, it was not a matter of payment for loans: the distribution of money for interest, elsewhere called lakna'nats, J.A. could not define or describe. Neither was there a fetishistic element involved.[107] "At the end of ten months they [the mourners] took money to some tia''a. At the end of six days this tia'a had lots of mush cooked up. He washed those men," said J.A. She believed the money was given solely for the specific service of washing, not for the food.

The mourning ceremony itself (lonu'iwas) lasted six days. Each day for four days

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[106] Such was my understanding; no amount of questioning seemed to clarify J.A.'s statements.

[107] Cf. Strong, Aboriginal Society, passim.

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations of related animals (see below) had
616 no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the
619 terms tokelyuwič and nutuwič were known to both M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is tokelyu´wič. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dikao and da´tu idikao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping
582 into effect only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrange-
619 ment for reciprocal washing during the mourning ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily
769 between families having the same totemic animal (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is
619 applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

616 assigned (eastside or westside), and as fami-
619 lies arrive they are received by winatums and asked their provenience, so to say, before being told where to camp. J.B. said, "There was no dividing up [according to family totem] at a duniša (mourning ceremony) except among the tia'a. All the other people followed the tia'a of their own village."

574 The spatial arrangement at a mourning
769 ceremony was roughly square: the hosts and
616 recipients opposite each other, and the visitors at each end divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich. The actual directions of east and west were not always followed as the spatial possibilities differed from village to village.

619 The second manifestation of this tribal
769 moiety arrangement at the Annual Mourning Cere-
616 mony was in the Shamans' Contest, the opponents being divided as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich according to their tribal affiliations. To exemplify this, J.B. named several shamans whom
619 he had seen as contestants, giving their tribe,
756 totem animal, and directional affiliation, as
616 follows:

Nutuwich

Wukchumni: Či'čen (Rattlesnake); Ta'sowːk (Rattlesnake); Po'hač (Rattlesnake); Umiča'na (Rattlesnake).

Yaudanchi: Čamšu'šan (Magpie); J.B. added that this man was a curing doctor and Huhuna Dancer as well.

Choinimni: Pušlːlːn (Rattlesnake); Kaplːlːn (Rattlesnake).

Tokelyuwich

Telamni: Li'sːš (Owl); U'nun (Owl); Sa'pagai (Owl); "Winatum" (Owl); this man was a curing doctor, huhuna dancer, and winatum.

Yokod: Šut (Owl) [this is not in accord with his previous statement that the Yokod were Nutuwich].

Some other participants who were known merely as "southerners" to J.B. he classified thus: Maiye'mai and his brother, Po'sut, Tokelyuwich; Wati'sti and Andrés, Nutuwich.

616 When J.B.'s attention was called to the
825 fact that his groupings, as given above, were aligned by totem animals (as well as by tribe), he claimed he could not recall any participants
[756] in the Shamans' Contest who had other animals as symbols. [It seems possible to me that shamans with the same totems may have stayed together and been assigned to one or the other side arbitrarily.] He admitted that totem animals could be grouped as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich and said this was done when non-moiety persons were visiting or participating with a moiety-divided tribe, as Wukchumni or Michahai with Choinimni or Telamni. According to J.B., if such a grouping must be made, "Eagle, Duck, and Owl were Tokelyuwich, Rattlesnake, Bear, Magpie, and Deer, Nutuwich. Dove, Weasel, Skunk, and Coyote could be on any side because they were chiefs' and doctors' helpers. Eagle

[P. 143 C] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. 186 Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be [192] treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

●619 What is clear throughout is this: that 423 utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toichicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing [574] was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

574 The Choinimni, for their part, were annual 484 visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An [501] excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them 574 supplies and equipment for camping. The large 502 balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, 484 some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

[text continues on p. 145]

[3] Ibid.

[P. 151 b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on
769 the morning of the sixth day, the Huhuna Dance
in the afternoon, after which the usual games
535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This
arrangement may be quite correct, for the
Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a
display. While it is unusual to have display
dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the
first days, the program for these days was
somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River
area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was
769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety
opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as
616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit
were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host
tribe got wood and water for the visitors.
Every morning and evening just before sunrise
and sunset a group of singers went outside of
the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed.
The relatives of the deceased and any others
dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers
clapped their hands, the performance ceased.
Some of the visitors played games during the
day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old
people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it
seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the
day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also
might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers,
whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men
who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial
regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest
(hɛ ́šwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s inco-
756 herent description can be followed, the contest
789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took
place in the early afternoon. There were four
doctors on each side, of whom Pušl·l·n and
Kapl·l·n are the only ones remembered. In
making their "airshot" (toiyɛš) they used no
fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying
to] the sun was involved. As they made their
seizing gestures from the sun toward their
basketry trays on which the shot appeared,
they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "h^{x}!
h^{x}! h^{x}!" The airshot "looked just like white
fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet."
The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kapl·l·n.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of
crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was
called aha ́na. The mourning relatives, who had
been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the
night, carrying with them the images or "dolls"
(ta ́w·ts nao ́ša, dead made-like), which were
not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[Lic. of the mourning ceremony. - Analyst]

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so na) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
[578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

● 619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these E.N. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

[EP.1606] Kechayi

619 222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648 439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gːs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šilː´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hːn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

101 103 361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry

owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain

šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River

šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]

taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general

ačo´po: unlocated

kumku´mːč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ːč: got liquor

koko´hːp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

were "always picked out by the tia'a" (S.O.). Their only function was to assist as financial sponsors of mourning ceremonies or other celebrations for which much money was to be expended. The chief supplied the major sum and the secondary chiefs made up any deficit. The secondary chiefs at Tušao appointed by Kotob:č (Bill Tyner) were Halo´pča (Coyote Jim, a shaman), Šo'o´k (Bob ----), and Hai´kao (the informant S.O.). The money they contributed was given to the chief, who had it distributed among the reciprocal "washers" at the mourning ceremonies.

The winatum (na´tinab, Waksachi) had the same duties among Michahai and Waksachi as among the Yokuts tribes. The Waksachi held that Roadrunner (o´i'o´i') was the totemic symbol of the winatum lineage, but admitted Dove (he´wi) as a secondary or equivalent totem. This means that a Waksachi messenger, while regarding Roadrunner as his patrilineally inherited totem, would yet not kill nor eat a dove, and might even say, "Dove is my ibuk," whereas his children would not necessarily respect Dove unless they took up a winatum's office.

The winatum received payment for all his services, both from the sender and receiver of a message. When going about to announce a mourning ceremony he carried a cane which, according to S.O., was undecorated and about eight feet long.

Lineage Totems

The animal associated with a family line, patrilineally inherited and venerated, was called in Michahai poša, in Waksachi, ibuk. The reciprocal word pošam, for the person who had the poša was frequently on S.O.'s lips. In

[text continued on top of p. 231b]

Person	Tribe
K:lmiš:t, winatum	Michahai
Tčaod:t	Waksachi
Ya'ailat	Entimbich (?)
Takač, chief	Entimbich
Wotuš	(?)
Hawanuč	Wukchumni
Mosus	Entimbich
Čeči	Entimbich
"Buffalo Bill," messenger	Wobonuch
Kučum	Choinimni
Hučač	(?)
Waja, I	Wobonuch
Kuijal	(?)
Wilolohi	Wobonuch
Supana	Wobonuch
Upe´'ač	Entimbich (?)
Etak	Waksachi
Halopča	Waksachi
Palaha	Waksachi
Haipuš, singer	Wobonuch
Pušl:l:n, shaman	Chukaimina

[list continued on middle of p. 231b]

W Y 613 trying to conclude just what animals were lineage totems, S.O. thought over a number of people, naming, as they came to mind, those whose poša he knew. He carefully distinguished between the lineage animal (poša) and the dream helper (ai ´n.č); when he knew the latter he named it. This list is given below. In the Waksachi vocabulary of birds and animals given by B.O. (pp. 223-224) is his identification of animals as lineage totems. It will be seen that the creatures so functioning are definitely limited.

W Y 613 778 At Tušao there was no one who had Snake poša, and at Čitatu there was no Bear pošam whom S.O. or B.O. could recall. S.O. had never heard of Fish as a Totem, nor were buzzard or deer ever family symbols. Some people "might have had" Crow, but he did not recall any specifically. Weasel could be "a dream helper for anybody but he was never anybody's poša." Before human beings were here, i.e., in the prehistoric animal era when Eagle was chief, "Crow and Roadrunner were winatums along with Dove. They all ran around and helped." The Waksachi lean toward Roadrunner as the winatum's poša rather than Dove.

W Y 616 Of moieties S.O. knew practically nothing. He said some Tachi had told him about "Eagle being Nutuwich and Falcon Tokelyuwich" [even this is wrong] but he "had never heard of anybody doing like that" [having two classes of people]. He insisted that neither the Waksachi, Wobonuch, and Chukaimina nor the Michahai had any moiety arrangement. About the Choinimni he "didn't know."

W Y 582 People married without regard to totemic animal relationship; the degree of blood relationship was the determining factor.

W Y 613 619 776 778

Totem	Dream helper
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Bear	---
Dove, Roadrunner	---
Dove	---
Eagle	---
Eagle	---
Dove	---
Eagle	Cougar (for hunting)
Bear	Bear (for dancing)
Eagle	---
Owl	---
Owl	---
Eagle	Cougar (hunting)
Fox	---
Snake	Coyote

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

[pp. 1-473 not processed]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one
another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are
known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties
from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear
to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi.
Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniiu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from
Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have
frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, includ-
ing the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some
[103] 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Tolhicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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FOREWORD

The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

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CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts*, Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi*, pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch*, but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

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the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such great numbers as was the east side of the valley.

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions, they never returned to that area, it being too open to the invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians*, the *Yachikamni* Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present Stockton. *Tchikimisi*, on the south side of the Cosumne River, and *Tawi*, on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok*, there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne*, although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is the *Chauchila*, for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted. These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi*, a foothill tribe.

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On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau*. Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the village of *Dinishneu*.

The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River *Tihshachu*, meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima*. About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo*. Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu*. On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu*.

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi*. On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu*. Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi*, and above them the *Kechayi*. Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow*. South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo*. North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno*. During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi*.

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna*. Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu*. South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou*. Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu*. *Wumwumwus* (Woomwoom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

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Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old Dumna (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

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above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

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Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Auburn roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

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about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu*. Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land, was known as *Wamihlow*. Some upright granite outcroppings on the north slope were known by the same name and were thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi*, a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi*, who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi*. North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona*.

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu*. The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou*.

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha*.

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni*. In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow*, meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu*, Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro*, meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun*.

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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Wukusuta tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

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ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu* (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis* by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From 1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

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The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukaimina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm Valley was their summer camping grounds.

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley, was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or *Traw-law'-no*, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Merriman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village on the sand flats across the river to the north was called *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest portion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6, T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* meaning Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named *Ahdit Wisha.* It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow. Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

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is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW ¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Redbanks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale running north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch (NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove, are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pounding mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

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was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of *Hososhud*. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lemon Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne village of *Shonoyu*.

North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E, MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*, meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it. Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

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MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) were named *Iago*.

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* (Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chaná.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences, they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cultures was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Probably seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cultures. Historical data preserved would indicate that they were probably more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more friendly and dependable. Although practically all of the Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845. They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity.

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken timber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighboring Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

"These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

"Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 131 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoeans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

raising clouds of dust on the prairie. Columns of smoke were visible in the direction of the Tule Lakes to the Southward—probably kindled in the Tulares by the Indians, as signals that there were strangers in the valley."

This mention by Frémont of an ancient custom of the Yokuts Indians is probably the most significant of any that he made on that trip through the San Joaquin Valley. We know from old Indians and early white travelers and settlers that the Yokuts had for countless years telegraphed to the far ends of the San Joaquin Valley by means of smoke signals, warning that their territory was being entered by a strange, or hostile party.

When a party of Spanish entered the lower end of the valley for the purpose of securing proselytes for the missions, within four hours the tules were afire from the Cosumne River to the south end of Kern Lake, and a message was passing by means of smoke signals along the Sierra and Coast Range foothills from one look-out station to the other.

In this way the size of the party, the kind of people of which it was composed, the direction in which they were traveling and their actions were described to those tribes more than 250 miles away in less time than it could be taken today by means of automobiles.

If this party was reported to be hostile, immediate preparations were made to remove all women and children to hiding places, and to collect and arm all men for resistance.

Concerning the details of sending smoke signals little has been preserved. From *Cham'-sah*, an aged *Koyeti*, I learned that a small fire was used, it being partially smothered by weeds and grass which gave off a dense smoke when burned. Wahumchah states that the Yowlumne obtained asphaltum from the west side and used it for sending smoke signals.

A large cooking basket was placed over the fire to interrupt the smoke and divide it into puffs. A long series of short puffs was the signal of alarm. A long series of widely separated puffs meant that all was clear. Chamsah stated that a small isolated hill southeast of Porterville, known as *Chewil Tinin*, meaning Cottontail's Home, (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22S, R28E, MDB&M) was long used as a Koyeti signal station.

It was due to this close-knit allegiance of the many Yokuts tribes that they were able to resist all invading forces, except the Forty-niners, and to continue as a peaceful people.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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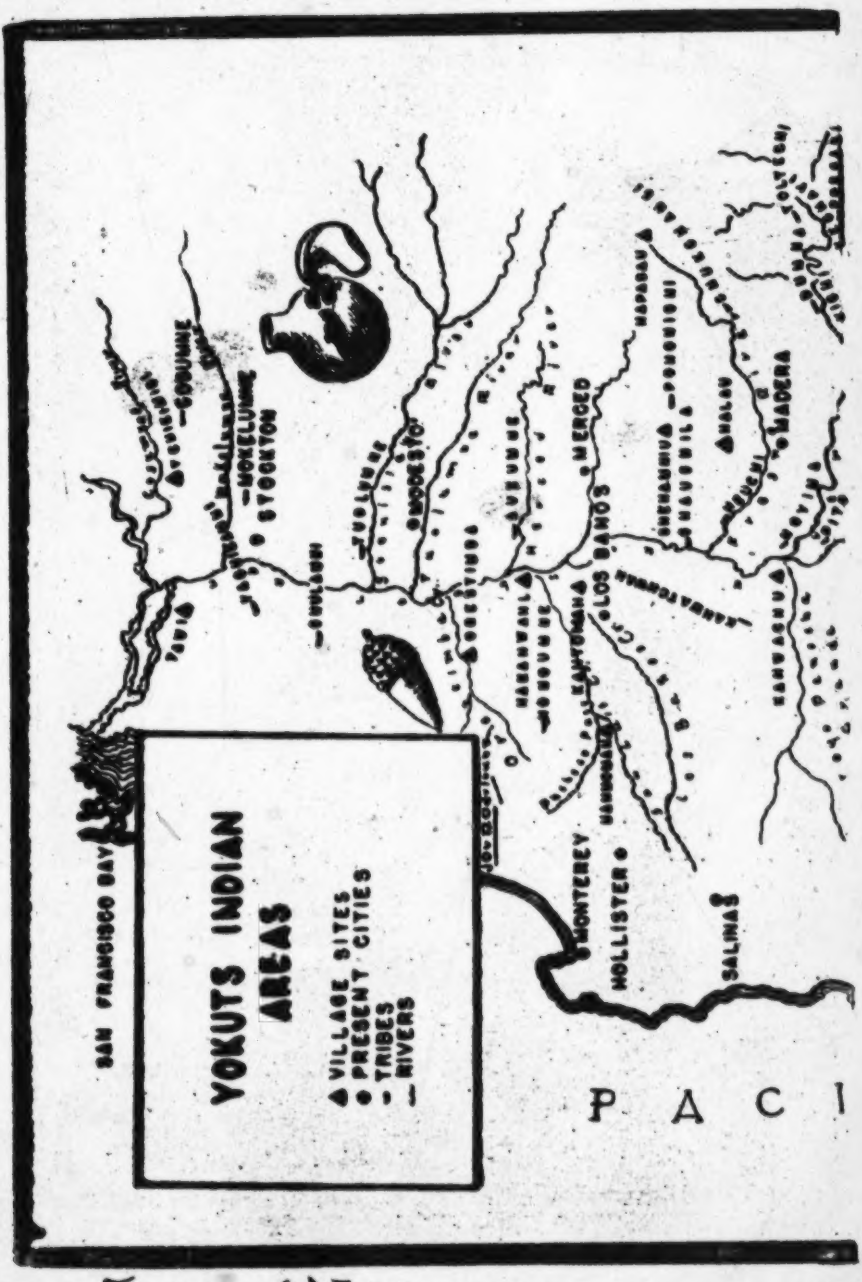

[End Map (A)]

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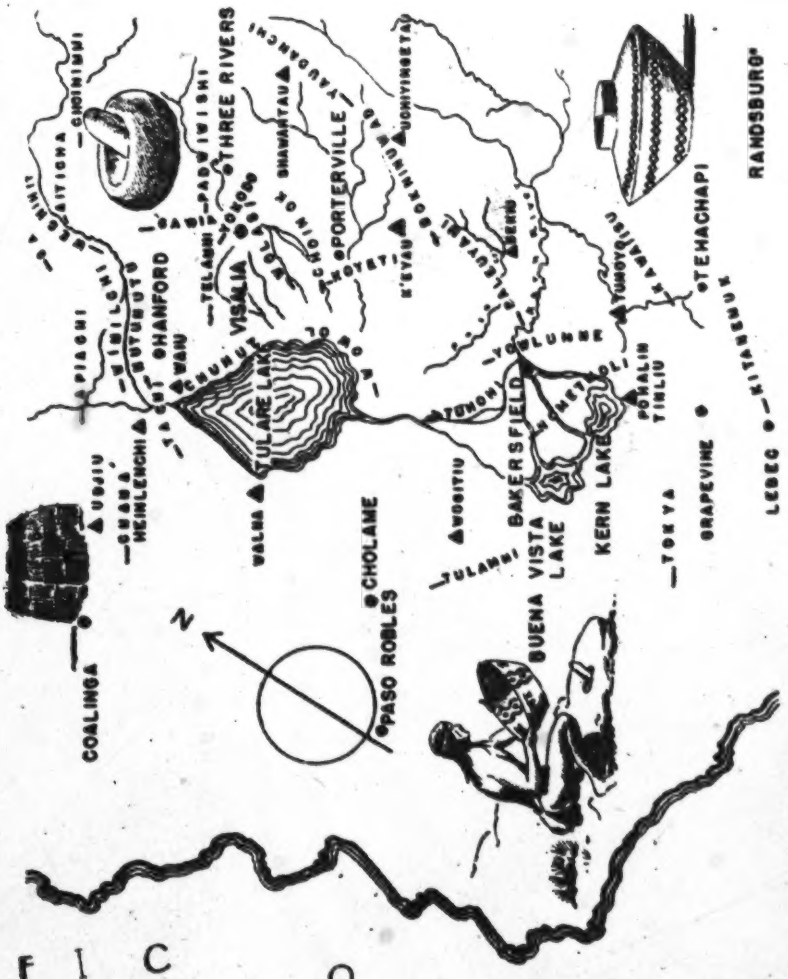

[End Map (B)]

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yandanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[4]

The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[5] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

[4] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.
[5] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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prevailed but did not affect this phase of social life. The chief was always of the eagle moiety. Eagle's supremacy was recognized here just as it was to the south. Likewise too, the chiefs were open to bribe: "If a buzzard (moiety) poisoner wants to kill someone on the eagle side, he may go to the eagle captain and pay him for the privilege. In such a case the poisoner may be immune from punishment."

Another informant told Gifford that "the chiefs were bosses over the doctors," but such a statement has little specific significance.

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The doctors' contest, the most spectacular ritual in the mourning ceremony series, offered opportunity for doing away with undesirable shamans. In brief, this contest consisted of the magical killing of shamans who were ranged in opposing rows and "shot" at each other with magic "air-shot." Only the doctor who projected the fatal shot into a fallen opponent could withdraw it. If the shot were not removed the victim would not regain consciousness, and would die within a few days. Thus it occasionally happened that a chief would want a rival chief's doctor killed, in which case the shaman who had power to revive this man in the contest would be paid to withhold the cure. A pretense at curing would of course be made.

Almost all informants in describing the contest speak of the deliberate failure, at times, to revive one of the fallen doctors. Of the other methods of killing people, given above, to which the chiefs had recourse, little is said by most informants. Those who did admit that chiefs were in league with shamans, were all men with the exception of the Kechayi informant. The only detailed accounts of the intrigues of chiefs and shamans are those given above by the Entimbich and Wukchumni informants. That chiefs were not always the benevolent officials which Yokuts and Mono ideals claim them to be, either was not generally known or was not readily admitted.

MOTSA, A POISONER CHIEF

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The tribes living in the plains of the San Joaquin valley were the first in the region to suffer from the encroachment of white settlers and civilization. In the northern part of the valley the Indian population is entirely extinct and has been so for so long a period that nothing is known of their customs. In the southern half of the valley a few members of the tribes originally dwelling about Tulare lake are still alive. But even in the childhood of these Indians the old culture was in an advanced stage of degeneration: as early as 1870 remnants

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

of the tribes Tachi, Wowol, Wolasi, Telamni, Chunut, and Choinuk were living in mixed groups in a few scattered rancherías. Hence, ethnographic data on these tribes though interesting cannot give us an authentic picture of aboriginal culture. Today there is but one informant who can tell us anything of the old life.

The outstanding figure among these tribes was one Motsa, a Tachi who had the status of chief but whose attitude toward others was that of the malevolent shaman. That a man of chiefly rank should have openly victimized his fellows is an unusual procedure: it may have been due to decayed social conditions, plus the fact that the last chief in the locality died without sons or nephews. Before proceeding with the account of Motsa's activities as a poisoner it will be well to give an explanation of the uses of poison in the south central California region.

Josie described the use of poisons in her locality as follows:

> She knew of two kinds of poison. One was made of jimsonweed and the leaves of another plant which were pounded together in a mortar. This poison was called mets aĥtawa (strong or real poison). It acted internally, so was usually administered with food. The other poison was called haiyenal, a rock poison. A type of rock that was "all colors, looked pretty, just like soap (iridescent?)," was found in the ground. Bits of the rock were scraped off and ground into a powder which was applied externally to shoes, clothing, etc., that would touch the victim's skin. Josie said she had seen that kind of rock but "hated to look at it; nobody dared go near it."
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> If a person wanted another killed he would often ask some one near the person to poison him for pay: thus frequently the person asked to do the poisoning was a friend of the victim. If the friend refused a third party would be hired to kill both. Hence the friend usually acquiesced in fear of his own life.

Poisoning is always reported to be worse in some other district than in the immediate locality. Thus Josie says it was done much more at Tule River reservation and "up north" than in the lake region. But "up north," as among the Wobonuch, the art of poisoning is said to have come in recently, about 1873, and the Wukchumni are accused of using it to a much greater extent than the local people.

Shamans were not called in to cure poisoning unless other methods failed.[42] Often poisons acted too quickly for steps to be taken but the usual method was an empirical one, that is, an emetic or antidote was taken. Josie said she cured three people who "put up blood from poisoning." She gave them an emetic of some plant leaves. She is "afraid" of these plants now and refused to identify them.

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[42] See anecdote, p. 397.

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chūk'-chan-si; farther down, the Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ki-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very different from the remainder of the family.

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups somewhat resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed,

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

105 184 permanent villages from which people moved seasonally or for brief periods to obtain particular products, the internal importance of family, extended family and lineage, the cross-cutting of villages by a moiety organization which provided chieftainship, village exogamy and a tendency towards moiety exogamy — in these and other respects there appears little diference between the Tachi and their eastern neighbors. Undoubtedly full information would show some differences in detail. For example, it appears likely that Tachi women contributed less to the food supplies than did the women of acorn using tribes, but this does not appear to be reflected in the social roles.

182 ●619 [621] It would seem, therefore, that the lake ecology, different though it may appear, supports similar social conditions to those of the acorn using tribe In each case the pattern is that of the permanent village with some hundreds of people who are able to get the bulk of their subsistence within a relatively restricted area supplemented only by [361] periodic or seasonal absences. The close proximity of settlements in [162] each case, the relatively high density of population with respect to major resource areas, the seasonal fluctuation in availability and location of major resources, all favor the existence of mechanisms for settling or preventing intra-tribal disputes and possible conflicts with [616] similar neighboring groups. The moiety organization cut across the village organization, contributing to the cohesiveness of the tribe as well as providing a mechanism for diffusing power and for the selection of chiefs. The equatibility of moieties among various Yokut tribes perhaps also contributed to stable intertribal relationships. A similar [574] function was served by the sharing of common resources in some cases, and by the exchange of hospitability in connection with religious ceremonials.

182 616 [194] It appears to us at present, however, that the moiety is not essential to the functioning of social systems under either lake or valley conditions. The northern Yokuts lack moieties and they are absent among other linguistic groups occupying similar environments.

182 221 Our conclusion is that substantially different ecological adaptations may be associated with quite similar social organizations providing the possibility of similar groupings of people exist. In the present instance both the lake and the acorn adaptations provide relatively abundant and reliable food supplies within limited areas, permitting the forming of fairly large and fairly stable communities. It is this fact, rather than a direct ecological relationship, which has permitted

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS35

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*161 is 3,750. To assume 3,500 is merely to stay within the bounds of the existing evidence.

If we accept tentatively 3,500 as the number of Indians on the middle Kings River in midcentury, then we are confronted with the problem of backward extrapolation. For the Tulare-Kaweah region the probable decline from 1800 to 1850 was probably to the level of approximately 20 per cent of the original value. Direct application of this factor to the Kings River gives a value for 1800 of 17,500. This is manifestly far too high. For the Mono and the Miwok in the upper foothills many facts point to a population decline to approximately 70 per cent of the prehistoric value. Application of this factor gives 5,000 for the Kings River, a high but not impossible figure.

Other considerations are worth mention at this point. In his diary of 1826 José Dolores Pico describes his adventures on the Kings River in January of that year. He was chasing stock thieves and trying to recover stolen animals. From January 10 to January 14 he beat back and forth along the Kings River, from the sloughs to the foothills, attacking every Indian in sight. The results were discouraging. He captured no animals, killed not over a score of natives, and was completely
● [619] outmanoeuvered by the combined forces of the Wimilchi, the Notontos, and Chukamina. The entire tenor of the document suggests an active, competent, and quite powerful local confederacy of tribes. This diary of Pico describes the only expedition to the Kings River of which we have documentary knowledge between 1806 and the coming of the Americans.

These facts suggest, first, that there was a sizable population which managed to maintain itself reasonably well for several decades along the Kings River. Secondly, they suggest that there may perhaps have been a slow migration of the more exposed valley people, like the Nutunutu, higher up the river. Both these factors would tend to keep the population decline to a minimum.

In view of the confusion surrounding the evidence in this area and in view of the apparent inadequacy of the Moraga figures the aboriginal population of the middle Kings River may be set at 5,000, with the full realization that this value represents the best guess under the circumstances.

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*161 The upper river was inhabited by the Mono groups, Holkoma and Wobonuch, for which an 1850 population of
W 1,700 was computed. The decline to 70 per cent may be
161 accepted here without serious reservation; hence the original number would have been 2,340. Adding the values for the three sectors of the river we get 9,130 or, estimating to the nearest hundred, 9,100.

KINGS RIVER 9,100

UPPER SAN JOAQUIN, FRESNO, AND CHOWCHILLA RIVERS AND MARIPOSA CREEK

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*161 The area between the Merced and the Kings rivers (see maps 1 and 4, area 5), which includes the courses of the upper San Joaquin, the Fresno, and the Chowchilla rivers, together with Mariposa Creek, is very poorly represented in the early documentary sources. The central valley itself, as far as the foothills, was apparently traversed by numerous expeditions and raids, and the population was largely missionized, killed, or dispersed. The written record is, however, quite inadequate. It is therefore not feasible to consider each of these river systems separately, as was done in the